

Achieving Education for All



*Dilemmas in System-Wide Reforms
and Learning Outcomes in Africa*

Edited by **Ishmael I. Munene**

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Foreword by Rukmini Banerji and Sara Ruto

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EIGHT

The Long Way from Elitism to Massification

What Is the Place of Quality Learning in the Senegalese School?

Rokhaya Cissé and Abdou Salam Fall

Senegal, which covers an area of 196,722 km², is located in Sudano-Sahelian West Africa. It is bordered to the north by Mauritania, to the east by Mali, to the south by Guinea-Bissau and Guinea Conakry and to the west by the Atlantic Ocean on a frontage of 700 km. Until 1945, the political organization of Senegal was a perfect illustration of “colonial order”: From the commander of circle to the governor, there was a hierarchical, authoritarian, immutable system. Only the natives of the “four communes” (Dakar, Gorée, Rufisque, Saint-Louis) had the privilege to elect their municipal councils. Thus was born a Senegalese political class that would find a parliamentary expression after World War II with the institutions created by the new colonial policy.

In 1946, a territorial Assembly of Senegal was elected by the communes to the unique college: It designated members of parliament to represent their country, and these members made great improvements (such as freedom of assembly and expression, and abolition of forced labor). Political activity was accompanied by the creation of parties separate from metropolitan organizations (such as the Foundation of the Senegalese Democratic Bloc in 1948). Prepared by the framework law of 1956, which strengthened the powers of the territorial assembly, the evolution towards independence accelerated with the creation of the community, which cut across autonomous republics. Senegal became a member state after the referendum of September 28, 1958.

Sudan and Senegal, which were related within the Federation of Mali since January 1959, requested independence together in the unitary framework on April 4, 1960. The Federation of Mali broke up, and on August 20, 1960, the Senegalese Assembly proclaimed the independence

of their country. Estimated at three million inhabitants at the time of independence in 1960, the population of Senegal was estimated at more than 13 million inhabitants in 2013, according to the Census of the National Statistics and Demography Agency (General Census, Population Habitat, Agriculture and Livestock, 2013). This is 10 times the population at independence.

The population is unevenly distributed. From a spatial point of view, densities range from 50 inhabitants per square kilometer in the west and center to five to 30 inhabitants per square kilometer in the east. Similarly, disparities between urban and rural areas are increasing. The Senegalese economy has relied for a long time on the primary agricultural sector, specifically, peanut farming. With cycles of drought, deteriorating trade terms, and Senegal's difficulties to adapt to the new mechanisms of world relationships, the national economy has continued to deteriorate.

Despite the relatively favorable inheritance of physical and social infrastructure at independence, Senegal has remained essentially an agricultural country. During the 1979–1983 to 1989–1992 time periods, the gross domestic product (GDP) rate of growth fell from nearly 4 percent to just under 2 percent. Despite the contribution of sectors such as fisheries and phosphates, the generally unfavorable context of internal resources, the extroverted nature of the economy, and inadequate financial policy led the Senegalese government to negotiate a structural adjustment program with the Bretton Woods institutions of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the mid-1980s.

It is worth noting that the structural adjustment policies (SAP) of the 1980s, as well as drought and declining rainfall, contributed to impoverishment and the precariousness of many of the country's social strata, including the rural areas. These stabilization and adjustment policies were intended to stabilize the deteriorating macroeconomic aggregates. They certainly allowed a relatively positive development in the growth rate, but it was not strong enough to foster a rapid restoration of imbalances.

Moreover, the state implemented policies to decrease jobs in public offices with massive cuts in the public sector as evidenced by the closure of several national companies and the elimination of incentives. These measures encouraged workers to leave the public and parapublic service, which contributed *de facto* to an increase in the unemployment rate. The increase in the unemployment rate was accompanied by a significant decrease in social investment in the areas of health and education.

Years later, in 1994, the persistence of the problems resulted in the devaluation of the CFA franc. The decline in per capita incomes that resulted from that devaluation made Senegal regress from a middle-income country to that of a low-income one. The country thus faced several difficulties, including a decline in living standards. The incidence of households

living in poverty was more than 48 percent nationally, according to the results of the Senegalese household survey (ESAM) conducted in 2002.

More recently, in 2008, the Vulnerability and Chronic Poverty Survey (VCPS) showed a household poverty profile in Senegal of around 60 percent. In other words, six out of 10 Senegalese households are either poor or vulnerable. In addition, according to the results of this same survey, out of the six households in the poor category, four are poor and two are vulnerable to an economic, health, and/or environmental shock, which can make the household quickly plunge back into poverty.

In different ways, SAPs also confirmed the fragility of the Senegalese economy and its inability to improve sustainably the living conditions of Senegal's populations. Vulnerabilities and inequalities between different regions of the country and between different population groups have remained strong. For example, one of the greatest vulnerabilities remains the human capital risk, mainly with the cyclical school crisis. The quality of education has declined, despite big efforts to reach a gross primary enrollment ratio (GER) rate of 95 percent in 2010. However, the 59 percent completion rate and the repetition rate of 11 percent in the first grades of elementary education reflect the paradox that characterizes the Senegalese educational system. To this day, the quality of education is affected by the low rate of educational supervision. There are still multigrade classes and dual-stream classes in the educational system. Furthermore, in most regions, teachers lack facilities such as classrooms and textbooks, and this lack reinforces the inequalities in the educational system. e. Public schools are no longer attractive despite their greater numbers, and, therefore, being more accessible.

EDUCATION CONTEXT AT INDEPENDENCE

In Senegal, the formal Western-style school was created by France in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, even before effective colonization, which was realized in the second half of the nineteenth century, France relied largely on education to colonize Senegal. That strategy consisted of valuing the contributions of the metropolis at the expense of the local culture. Joseph Jules Brévié, Governor-General of the A. O. F. (Afrique Occidentale Française), argued before the A. O. F. Council: The colonial duty and the political and economic needs impose on our work a double task: on the one hand, training the natives who are intended to become our auxiliaries in all areas and to ensure the rise of a carefully chosen elite; on the other hand, to educate the masses to bring them closer to us and transform their lifestyle . . . From a political viewpoint, the natives must know our efforts and our intentions. From an economic point of view, we need to prepare the producers and consumers of tomorrow (Moumouni 1998, 60–61).

There were several periods in the history of education under Senegalese colonization. During the first period, called “taming,” the colonies were considered to be devoid of civilization. In the second period, the existence of local cultures was recognized but was considered to be inferior. From this point of view, the schools were to allow the development of the local culture. In the third period, the schools were to combine the two cultures, African and French.

CLEARING EDUCATIONAL PLURALISM

Senegal has experienced different educational models from the colonial era to the present day. Education through the tradition that has always existed was designed to meet the social, political, and economic conditions of precolonial societies. With the arrival of French colonialism, a different model was established, a model that the native people hardly challenged after independence in 1960. Following independence, the goal of universalization of education was formulated in Senegal based on the observation that many school-age children did not have access to school. Lack of access to school was the outcome of colonial education where learning was initially restricted to the sons of officials and notables—before it was expanded to the sons of peasants.

AN ELITIST SCHOOL

The colonial power used the school as a means to select and train allied elite to carry on the thought and the culture of the colonizing country. Students learned the French language and arithmetic according to the needs of the colonial power. They were taught skills so they could respond to situations related to the trade of agricultural products (surfaces, quantity of harvest), to commercial transactions (purchase price, cost price, sales price, profits) and to colonial business (capital, interest). The mathematics program was designed, therefore, according to the needs of colonial trade houses.

Indeed, Boubacar Ly (2001) has pointed out that the Senegalese education system had initiated the creation of three categories of schools to give three kinds of instruction—village schools, regional schools, and urban schools—which each had distinct characteristics. The single-classroom village schools were easy to build, and they offered two courses (preparatory and elementary). The regional secondary schools were larger than the village schools; they included at least three classes and employed a European director, a native teacher, and a monitor. Finally, there were urban schools whose purpose was primarily to host European nationals

in all cities. In the urban schools, the colonial authorities required that the teaching be done in French. Moumouni (1998) argues that these urban schools did not articulate African cultural values:

... it was formally prohibited that masters appeal to African languages, but students themselves were threatened with disciplinary sanctions when they expressed themselves in their mother tongue within the walls of the school: "A number of Africans have experienced as children the obsession and fear of the 'symbol,' travelling throughout the day from hand to hand to fail at the end of class; in those students, that fate will be designated to blows and slaps by the master (Moumouni 1998, 60–61).

A SCHOOL OF ASSIMILATION

Similarly, the programs and school textbooks conveyed the same message and were intended to convince the Africans of the benefits of colonization. Colonization was able to prepare an elite class of teachers who were considered allies. From the onset of colonization, the cities played a role in spreading the culture of the colonizer. The first cities in Senegal—Gorée, St - Louis, Rufisque, and Dakar—were and have been the central homes of informal acculturation (Ly 2001).

After independence, the Senegalese authorities reiterated the need to adapt schools to the realities of the country, considering that they had been designed for a small elite at the expense of the other sectors of the population: "Raising the general level must also be done in conditions adapted to the necessities of our country" (Dia 1963, 426). The thinking was that it would be logical from the beginning of independence to have a genuine reformulation of the school system. Despite efforts to reform the system, however, no significant changes from the guidelines and programs of the colonial period took place.

AN ATTEMPT TO DOMESTICATE EDUCATION

A reform was considered, which was aimed at adapting the education system to the objectives of development planned for the country. It would, among other results, take into account the background of the learners. It was intended to separate rural students from urban students by creating rural schools in the villages. In rural areas, these schools would offer general-knowledge programs during the dry season and agricultural courses during the rainy season. In cities, students who would not join the practical track, would have access to "urban middle schools," which offered, after a common trunk, either a technical major or a secondary major that led to high school, technical school, or university. This school-reform project was

to empower the rural communities to take care of their own development by giving political power and economic power to the peasant masses.

However, as Sylla (1985) explains, the education-reformation project experienced a number of operational difficulties, such as the lack of an educational policy. In addition to good intentions, it was necessary to have an education policy in Senegal that clearly stated the principles of education and the purposes and objectives of school programs as well as the schedules and structures, modes of organization, and evaluations and examinations of the Senegalese school system. A reform took place in 1962 in an attempt to adapt the education system curricula, which dated back to pre-independence days. Up until 1968, the teaching system was linear without major changes. From May 1968, the increased pressing need for the adaptation of schools eventually led to a new educational nomenclature. Indeed, in the application of the education orientation law, Decree No. 72-862 specifies the structure of the new system around the five educational levels that are still in place today: pre-school education, elementary education, middle school education, high school education, and higher education.

UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION ATTEMPTS BEFORE 1990

The post-independence period would also experience some advances from two main international developments. The first stage was marked by the 1961 Addis Ababa conference where many African countries stressed the challenge of the massification of access to school. It is noteworthy that with the departure of the colonial administration, there was a need for trained civil servants to replace the departing settlers. In addition, there was the need to adapt educational resources to the requirements of African culture, including the introduction of certain subjects, such as African history and geography, in order to create an African-oriented civil service.

The second international development that shook the educational system was the economic crisis of 1968. This crisis was triggered by the economic policies of President Leopold Senghor who sought the “continuity” of colonial economic policies that stressed monopolistic markets in agriculture and manufacturing. Senghor’s policies led to extensive patronage networks that inhibited the development of a fully functioning free-market economy (Boone 1990). The 1968 crisis was followed by the financial and economic crisis of 1973, which was ushered in by the oil shocks of the early 1970s. The massive increase in the price of oil had a devastating ripple effect on the Senegalese economy and ushered in high inflation and diminished public resources for investment in education. In the 1980s, the SAPs promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund ignited an additional economic challenge. SAPs required the state to curtail its public expenditure, especially in social sectors like edu-

cation and health, while increasing the role of private capital in economic growth. Not all these crises were restricted to Senegal; they catalyzed several African nations to organize meetings or national educational conferences so they could reflect together on the aims of the education system.

THE GENERAL STATE OF EDUCATION: REDEFINING A NEW VOCATION OF THE SCHOOL

These conferences were an opportunity to revisit the content and aims of education for a better link to the African cultural identity. In view of the critical situation of the school system in Senegal, the international community, regional and national directors, development agencies, and researchers from various disciplines were mobilized for the first time in the history of education in Senegal. A desire to reform education since independence manifested through the meeting of the General States of Education convened in January 1981, following Abdou Diouf's accession to the presidency. The meeting brought together political authorities, social partners, and teachers' trade unions, and it looked at ways and means to reform the educational system.

The convention proposed a change in Senegal's education orientation, from a school system inspired by colonialism to one adapted to the socio-cultural realities of Senegal. As the World Bank pointed out, the Senegalese society would have to rely on the traditional values of the country, long marginalized by the colonial and post-colonial education system, while remaining open to scientific and technical progress at the beginning of the third millennium (World Bank 2002). It is in this context that the *École Normale Supérieure* (School of Education) became an educational institution with a major role in training Senegalese middle and high school teachers. Yet, despite all these efforts to indigenize the education system and establish a suitable school, many problems persisted, especially in terms of access to school.

POLICIES, PROGRAMS, AND INITIATIVES POST-1990

The 1990s were characterized by a strong tendency towards development policies. Following the SAPs and the attendant reduction of state budgets, a new vision of development was born for Senegal, which incorporated growth and poverty reduction as well as good governance. The heavily indebted poor countries' (HIPC) initiative was the first illustration of a new social priority in growth and poverty-reduction strategies. In terms of education, this translated into a series of conferences and international meetings that aimed to achieve greater access to education.

Also, as early as 1990, the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand, marked a new impetus for change in basic education. The conference was an opportunity for the international community to commit itself to mobilize more resources to achieve basic education for all by the year 2000. Indeed, it is from this conference that international organizations for the first time looked beyond the goal of quantitative expansion of education to that of the improvement of the quality of education. While the goal of increasing access to education for all had not been attained, from the 1990s, the issue of the quality of learning also gained significant importance.

This interest in quality is linked to the fact that many children finished school without acquiring basic skills. It became imperative to improve the educational quality while making access to education universal. However, the Jomtien declaration did not specify the objectives to be achieved in terms of quality of education. Yet, as a result of the conference, international influence began to take precedence over national resolutions. Jomtien promoted a definition of basic education that has since served as reference point for the development of fundamental tools of how to learn, develop skills in everyday life (health, hygiene, environmental sustainability, as well as population control), and how to situate oneself within society.

The other side of this consensus on the need for basic education was that the contents of basic learning would increasingly be influenced by external funding (Niang 2014). For example, the European Union committed itself to a program called Environment Training-Information, and the Sahel states (Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Niger, Chad, and Soudan) and introduced environmental education programs in response to this funding. The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) committed itself to financially support the family life education programs and population activities, and several African countries have developed programs in response to this funding initiative. Furthermore, in 1996, the United Nations initiated a plan for African nations to identify priority themes in basic education to facilitate the mobilization of increased resources from multilateral agencies and the international community. This initiative would mainly support the preparation in several countries of 10-year, basic education-development programs.

WCEFA 2000, MDG, AND UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION

In April 2000 at the WCEFA follow-up meeting held in Dakar, Senegal, popularly known as the Dakar Forum, the international community met to engage on six goals, including Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2015 and male-female parity. The countries of the North were also committed to facilitate reforms in the countries of the South for the improve-

ment of education. Indeed, with the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) promulgated in September 2000 by the United Nations, governments around the world were committed to achieve, by 2015, universal access to free, compulsory, and good-quality primary education. MDG goals were aimed at, among others, reducing poverty by half by 2015 and ensuring that 100 percent of children would complete a full primary cycle. The general agenda of educational-reform policies in Senegal has been inspired by these international developments. The reforms have been operationalized by policies for the sector and put through the 10-year program of education and training.

EDUCATIONAL PRIORITY IN SENEGAL IN THE UPE ERA

The government of Senegal developed several frameworks to improve children's access to the formal education system. From 2000, the country has relied on the 1991 Orientation of Education Law, which aims to train "free men and women [to be] capable of creating the conditions for their development and to contribute to national development" (Orientation Law 91–22, 1991). The legal background was used to implement a framework for the operationalization of educational policy through its program of developing education and training (PDEF) over a period of 10 years (2000–2010). Key PDEF achievements have included constructing and rehabilitating classrooms, optimizing school premises and staff with special classes (multigrade or double-shift classes), recruiting and training new volunteer teachers, increasing the institutional and financial support to private schools, and strengthening of schooling of children (especially girls) in disadvantaged areas.

In addition, there has been an increase in the government's operating budget for education, which rose from 32 percent in 2002 to almost 40 percent in 2005 (PRSP 1 and 2). Furthermore, by 1995, the Senegalese government had put in place a new initiative to recruit teachers—the volunteers of education program (VEP) (Barro 2009). The decision to implement VEP was justified by the need to counter the observed decline of the gross enrollment rate, which went from 58 percent in 1990 to less than 55 percent in 1995, and to contain public spending: The ratio between the salary of a volunteer teacher and a regular teacher was 1 to 5.4.

It is worth noting that this policy was adopted in the context of the post-economic crisis and the SAPs that Senegal had experienced. According to the Senegalese Department of Education, between 1996 and 2000, 1,200 volunteer teachers were recruited annually, which contributed to increase the gross enrollment rate to 68 percent in 2000 (MEN 2003, 22). After 2000, the PDEF intensified this policy of recruiting volunteers, and it planned to enlist 20,000 new teachers over a 10-year period, from

2000–2010 (MEN 2003, 38). The goal was to accelerate school coverage and achieve the goal of Universal Primary Education by 2010, five years before the deadline of Education for All.

The creation of the corps of volunteers helped to significantly improve the schooling figures; the GER went up to 94 percent (MEN 2011). However, this policy soon showed its limits. For example, in terms of teacher education, the training of teachers prior to 1995 at the École Normale Supérieure (School of Education) took four years whereas the volunteer teachers' training took between one to three months (between 1995 and 2000) in national education departmental inspections. After 2000, the volunteer teachers' training took six months in the new teacher-training schools. This limited time spent in preparation for teaching has had serious implications for the quality of instruction offered by the teachers.

SUCCESS IN ACCESS TO EDUCATION; REGRESSION IN THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

This important commitment of Senegalese leaders to strengthen the country's educational system has resulted in a steady increase in the GER, which rose from 70 percent in 2001 to more than 82 percent in 2005 and to 94 percent in 2011. The evaluation of PDEF 2, however, shows a contrasting scenario. Despite the stated progress of access to schooling, more than 300,000 children of primary school age are not in school. Furthermore, the comparison of gross enrollment rates highlights inequalities between different social groups: For example, children from rural areas have a more limited access to school as do girls and children from poor households.

Nevertheless, in reference to the guidance document for the management of the quality of phase two of the education and training program, it is clearly specified that "quality is still a major and critical challenge for the Senegalese education system because it conditions the achievement of the objectives of development, social progress, peace, and democracy that are targeted by the World Declaration on Education" (Ministry of Education 2010, 19). The document also affects the Millennium Development Goals, the Education Orientation Law 91–22 of February 16, 1991, and the economic and social development document (DPES 2011–2015).

Although there has been an improvement in the educational system through these different programs initiated by successive governments, the quality of education in Senegal still remains problematic. There are challenges that revolve around the need to provide equitable opportunities and a good-quality education for all children, taking into account regional and gender disparities, the problems of infrastructure, and human resources management. The reduction of these inequalities is imperative in light of the series of studies carried out by the Laboratory for Research

on the Economic and Social Transformations (LARTES-IFAN). The research on the dynamics of poverty and its implications for education in Senegal (Cisse and Fall 2012) has highlighted the different dimensions of poverty in Senegal, which has led to two important observations.

On the one hand, strong correlations have been established between chronic individual poverty and the conditions of life in childhood. On the other hand, a relationship of cause and effect between the current status of individual poverty and the person's level of education and that of his/her parents has also been established. Indeed, the results of the survey confirm this significant relationship between education and poverty by revealing that not attending school is one of the major factors of remaining in poverty and transmitting it to the next generation. The study findings show the urgent need to integrate this dual aspect of the problem into Senegal's educational policies in order to understand courses of action needed to deal with the current difficulties of the Senegalese education sector and to direct public policies based on reliable and dynamic data to deal with the major constraints of educational quality.

JÀNGANDOO/CURRENT RESEARCH DATA

During the last decade, several attempts have emerged to define the quality of education in Senegal and to measure quality achievement in terms of objectives. However, the dominant paradigm for defining the quality of learning is one that most countries adhere to: "Make sure students go to school or attend classes" (Fall 2015, 11). Another way to analyze the quality of learning is to go beyond mere access and focus on the application—that is, "to ensure that education reaches learners" (Fall 2015, 11). In both cases, the learner remains the central focus of the education system.

Subsequently, there is an emerging consensus around evaluating the quality of education by measuring the acquisition of learning by student performance on national or international tests (Bernard 2004). In fact, according to several authors, educational quality inevitably refers to measurement and evaluation, which allow the verification of the degree of achievement against a given objective (De Landsheere 1979; Legendre 1993; Le Robert 2003; Bouchard and Plante 2002; Sall and De Ketele 1997; Guèye 1997; Verspoor 2005; Demeuse and Strauven 2006). This approach implicitly argues that a good-quality education, whether in school or by other forms of learning, should lead to the acquisition of knowledge, skills, and attitudes that allow students to achieve important human goals (Vinay 1997). The assessment of school learning is a decision-making tool for teachers, parents, and managers of the educational system. It is also a procedure to inform the learner of his/her progress in the development of specific skills.

THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW MODEL TO MEASURE CHILDREN'S LEARNING ACQUISITIONS

In the 1960s, it became necessary to go beyond the quantitative assessments of education to understand what students actually learn (Mons 2007). International tests originated in 1959 with the creation of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). The WCEFA in 1990, identified the need to collect data to compare the different educational systems in terms of performance. This need catalyzed an increase in assessments of learning achievement from 1990 to 2000. These assessments were based on theories of the relationship between the length of schooling and economic growth, which suggested that economic growth is positively related to human capital and can be measured by the duration of schooling (Barro 1991). It was during this period that PISA (Program for International Student Assessment), SACMEQ (The Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality), and PASEC (Programme d'Analyse des Systèmes Educatifs de la CONFEMEN) were introduced.

However, for neoclassic thinkers, it is the quality of education—not the duration of schooling—that explains the growth. Thus, it is best to go beyond the quantitative measures of education and take an interest in students' cognitive achievement. According to Niang (2014), cognitive achievement is a qualitative measure more appropriate for measuring human capital. Neoclassic scholars argue that the quality of education, as measured by tests of knowledge acquisition in mathematics and science, is a measure of human capital and an explanatory factor of economic growth that is more relevant than the duration of schooling. This notion of human capital had a significant impact on the definition of the quality of education as adopted at the Dakar Forum. Also, measurement experiences, which were multiplied during the 1990s, demonstrated the importance of cognitive achievement for economic growth. Furthermore, the importance of cognitive achievement will reinforce the need to give priority to the mastery of basic cognitive skills in the first cycle of learning.

WHY HAVE A BAROMETER FOR MEASURING LEARNING IN SENEGAL?

Following this analysis of the importance of the quality of education, the central question is how to build a reliable system of information and data collection to effectively act upon the education system. This challenge has inspired the Laboratory for Research on the Economic and Social Transformations at Cheikh Anta Diop University to implement a barometer

of quality learning in Senegal entitled “Jàngandoo” a Wolof word that means, in French, “learning together.” It is in this spirit that LARTES-IFAN, through the Jàngandoo program, intends to make the scientific information collected, through proven methods, available to stakeholders in education, whether formally or informally.

Also, the Jàngandoo barometer differs from other types of quality assessment as it covers the adequacy of learning time, teacher effectiveness, and learning materials. It embraces the perspective of Verspoor (2005) who contends that “. . . the quality of education is measured primarily in learning outcomes” (17). This approach raises several questions with regard to Senegal’s UPE program: Are the children learning? Do they learn their lessons well? And, especially, what do they do with the knowledge they acquire?

The Jàngandoo barometer measures 6 to 14-year-old children’s learning outcomes using standardized Arabic and French tests in three areas: reading, mathematics, and general knowledge. Jàngandoo also relies on the administration of survey questionnaires—a household survey and a community survey—that aims to analyze the performance of children based on their household living conditions and their school environment. Each year, the cumulative results are shared with stakeholders and education decision-makers to inform and involve the entire community and promote social mobilization around the quality of learning.

Jàngandoo functions in some distinctive ways:

1. The evaluation takes place within the household and in the presence of the members of the family who are immediately informed of their children’s results. In this way, all the learning outcomes of children in each household are incorporated into the assessment.
2. The tests are developed to reflect the median level of learning, which has been fixed at the end of the third year of schooling regardless of the formal and/or informal system of education. All children from 6 to 18 years of age in the surveyed households are subject to the same tests without distinction.
3. Children freely choose to be tested in French or Arabic, and for each exam, they also have the choice of taking one of three equivalent tests on the same educational level.
4. The results are shared with all education stakeholders so that they can act upon the results and improve the quality of learning.

Jàngandoo is built around a dynamic partnership with the departments of education, parents’ associations, and a dozen non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in 14 regions of the country that have effectively enforced assessment implementation by mobilizing facilitators from the

communities involved. Jàngandoo is also accompanied by a teaching team in French and Arabic, composed of inspectors and educators recognized by their peers for expertise and teaching excellence. The idea is not to build a teaching format; instead, Jàngandoo’s goal is to develop a standard that fairly targets formal and informal learning both in French and in Arabic.

WHAT DOES THE JÀNGANDOO BAROMETER INDICATE?

In 2014, the sample for the Jàngandoo assessment had doubled from 5,000 households in 2013 to 10,000 households—or 26,068 children aged 6 to 14. The results of Jàngandoo 2014, as exemplified in Figure 8.1, indicate a persistence of poor educational quality and the trends observed in the large-scale evaluation of 2013 (Cisse, Fall, and Diagne 2014).

The major finding of the Jàngandoo assessment is that comprehension, both Arabic and French, is a major problem for children. This problem is also obvious as soon as the child faces complex issues. In addition, the results show that the performance of children reflects regional disparities. As can be seen from Figure 8.2, children who attend private schools

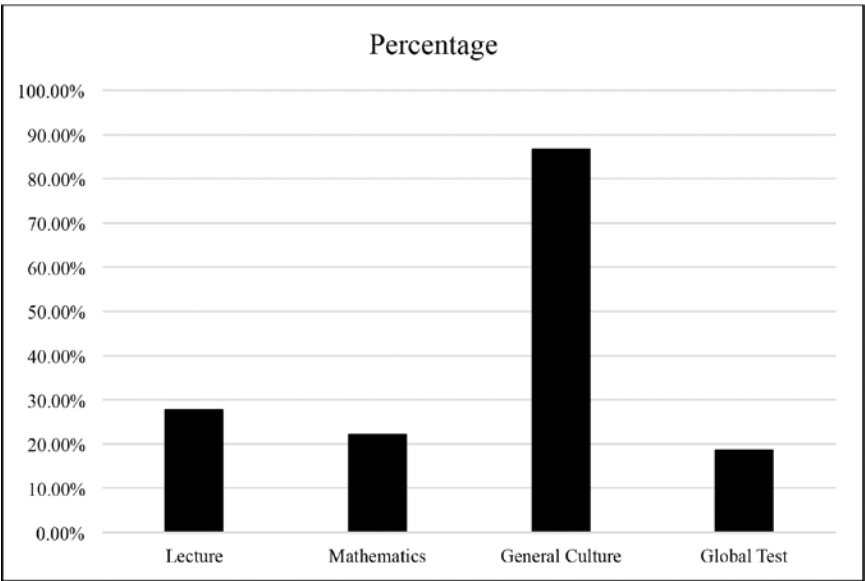


Figure 8.1. The 2014 Jàngandoo Assessment Results in Senegal in Level 3 Reading, Math, and General Knowledge.

Source: *Evaluation de la qualité des apprentissages, Jàngandoo 2014 (Evaluation of Learning Quality, Jàngandoo 2014).*

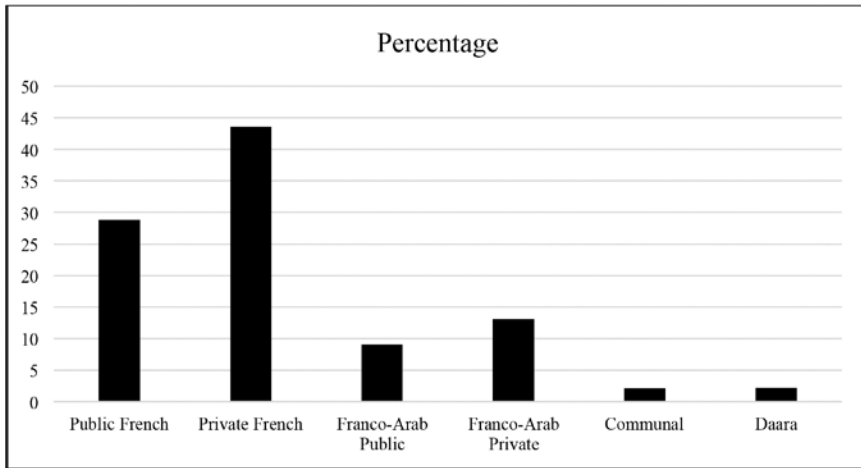


Figure 8.2. Jàngandoo Test Results in Senegal by Type of School Attended.

Source: *Evaluation de la qualité des apprentissages, Jàngandoo 2014.*

performed better than those attending public schools. Children attending Franco-Arabic schools performed less successfully than those in French public schools.

Children who attended the third grade at the time of Jàngandoo testing had a success rate of 21 percent in reading and 15 percent in mathematics. On the other hand, the children who were in the sixth grade had a success rate of 69 percent in reading and 59 percent in mathematics. Although there was an improvement in the scores, there was still an important failure rate among the sixth graders. Those who failed the assessment are estimated to have the academic competence level of a third grader. Furthermore children in the daaras (Koranic schools) and community schools (steps 1, 2, 3) recorded the lowest performance in all test categories. For students in the daaras, the results were less than 7 percent in reading and less than 3 percent in math, and for the community schools, the results were less than 16 percent in reading and 3 percent in math.

In addition to performance testing, the Jàngandoo assessment reviewed the performance context. The data showed that the living conditions significantly influenced learning outcomes, i.e., children living in affluent households were more likely to perform more successfully on the Jàngandoo assessments. Similarly, the availability of instructional materials in learning spaces positively influenced the performance of children. Also, because the Jàngandoo testing took place in households, families who participated in the surveys—even those with a low level of parental education—valued education more highly than those families who did not participate in the assessments.

Barriers to learning were also identified. First, there were sociocultural factors. For example, in some communities, educating children is not a priority, and children are put to work at jobs or household chores, which, in the long term, affects their learning performance. Financial constraints were another factor: Despite the tuition-free public schools, there are associated school costs such as school uniforms, transport and also ancillary costs including opportunity costs, such as paying for school furniture, transportation, food, and reinforcement classes organized by teachers.

The purpose of the Jàngandoo evaluation was not restricted to the objectives assigned by the educational system to test mastery of skills by level. The evaluation also focused on those skills and values that are necessary for any child to be successful socially and economically in the future. Therefore, the Jàngandoo assessments were not limited to the formal education system; Jàngandoo's inclusive approach took into account all children present in the household, which allowed the evaluation to consider the real achievements of children and young people in different learning spaces.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Since the era of the colonial school system in Senegal, which extended into the post-independence years, Senegal's education system has remained very receptive to outside influences. Following the major conferences on education that began in 1961 with the Addis Ababa Conference on African education and continued with the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, the Senegalese government has focused on increasing access to basic education (UCSPE 2014). However, while noting the significant progress made in providing education for all, the efforts to achieve a good-quality education are still largely focused on inputs such as teachers, books and teaching materials. The issue of improving what children learn continues to be ignored despite the willingness shown by the Senegalese government in 2013 to improve quality, fairness, and transparency in the sector of education and training (PAQUET-EF), as outlined in the General Policy Letter (2013–2025). Indeed, the goal of this program is to build “a fair, effective, efficient system of education and training consistent with the requirements of economic and social development; more commitment to support the excluded, based on an inclusive government; and greater accountability of local authorities and stakeholders at the grassroots level” (PAQUET 2013–2025, 26).

Compared to other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Senegal has devoted a significant portion of its total expenditures to education. While the high dropout rate remains important, regional and gender disparities

as well as the deficiencies of the educational system persist. Regions such as Sédhiou and Dakar have the highest dropout rate—126 percent and 116 percent, respectively—while Diourbel (61.9%) and Kaffrine have the poorest performances—62 percent and 53 percent, respectively.

To improve this situation requires reducing the structural inequalities that are reflected in the performance measurement of children. However, the deterministic theories that are used in the analysis of performance results and which are useful in establishing that socially and economically fragile or disadvantaged environments produce children who are experiencing performance barriers are now being put into perspective. Such results are expected to influence Senegal's education policy by taking into account, in an equitable manner, all the children in the learning process and to focus interventions around the formation of human capital.

The advocacy for institutional change that Jàngandoo intends to initiate will mainly target high-level education authorities, local authorities, communities, and technical and financial partners who support the Senegalese education system. It is important that these actors are informed about the current quality of education in Senegal and sensitized to possible solutions that can reverse the trend in poor academic performance. An inclusive and participatory approach, incorporating all stakeholders in the education system and in the different forms of learning, is recommended.

A change in the quality of Senegal's education system can only take place by bringing to light the issues currently standing in the way of a good-quality education and implementing effective educational policies that put the child at the heart of the learning process. In other words, all the factors favoring the development of the child should be summoned and leveraged to achieve an improvement in the quality of learning. The research and analysis presented here makes it possible to propose educational quality indicators and to make recommendations for achieving the objectives of improving the quality of learning.

Developing a Holistic Vision of the Quality of Learning

The Jàngandoo methodology is both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative part relates to a measure of performance that takes into account the assessment scores of children in three fundamental subjects: reading, mathematics, and general knowledge, coupled with an analysis of the determinants of the quality of learning. The qualitative part is based on extended consultations with several families of actors at the national level to collect the solutions, strategies, and priority actions for improving the quality of education in Senegal. To take substantive action for quality improvement, four main areas emerge: conditions of learning, the skills of

teachers, the learning environment, and educational governance. Each of these factors is considered in the following recommendations.

RECOMMENDATION 1: IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS OF LEARNING

To improve the conditions of learning, the educational contents should be revised so that they take into account all basic subjects, such as reading, mathematics, and general knowledge, including science, social education, physical education, artistic expression, and so forth—all the knowledge that a child needs to be a productive citizen who is able to participate in the development of the country. The cultural dimension of learning should reflect, for example, philosophy drawn from past and present Senegalese society and the enhancement of the country's cultural heritage through tales, proverbs, and artistic and literary works.

Teaching methods should be based on the pedagogy of success and should be able to address the shortcomings of children in difficulty. They should be inclusive to take into account the diversity of learners, especially children with disabilities. The aim of these methods should promote student self-reliance and future success in the work force. The availability of quality inputs, such as textbooks, desks, and libraries, must be guaranteed in all forms of learning. The student-to-desk ratio, teacher-to-student ratio, and teacher-to-inspector ratio should all be improved in all the places of education to ensure regular monitoring of teachers.

RECOMMENDATION 2: DEVELOPING TEACHING SKILLS

Training should be standardized according to the criteria of quality (e.g., strengthening motivation, social recognition, etc.). The evaluation of teachers should be systematized, and strategies should be integrated into the training process to improve teachers' teaching skills and their knowledge proficiency, appropriate to the grade level they teach. Finally, the teaching positions should be regionalized to promote the adaptation of teachers to the local context and to limit travel to remote places.

RECOMMENDATION 3: UPGRADING ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS OF LEARNING

The different forms of learning should be quality-standardized with an allocation of books and media as well as necessary equipment, such as an administrative block, sanitary block for teachers, sanitary block for girls and boys, and a fence). Temporary shelters and special classes (multigrade, double flow, etc.) should be eliminated.

RECOMMENDATION 4: IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE

Educational policies should touch the different forms of learning according to a systemic approach. These policies should be the result of an open process of co-production between several actors, including social movements, communities, and intercommunity cooperation. On the other hand, local communities or municipalities should be required to provide child-friendly budgets by encouraging collective responsibility for education, such as enterprises to increase the resources available for education and training. The communities should also be involved and trained in the monitoring of learners. The accountability principle, control, and regulation by a diversity of stakeholders in the educational community should be institutionalized.

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"Ishmael I. Munene's work is an extremely comprehensive discussion of the way the leadership in African states worked to develop meaningful primary education in the face of the continental colonial ideology of education repression. It is detailed with the necessarily complex interplay of national and international policy agencies, and for scholars and students of comparative education it is essential. This work is essential for readers in the Social Foundations of Education, since it offers a diverse continental template showing the tension between vocational and academic human capital designs in national policies which had, and have, unintended and sometimes revolutionary consequences."

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Using the Education for All (EFA) global movement, *Achieving Education for All: Dilemmas in System-Wide Reforms and Learning Outcomes in Africa* surveys international education policy making, the design and implementation of system-wide educational reform, and the assessment of learning outcomes in the African context. This book addresses questions such as what it means for African states to reform their educational systems to meet the global agenda of EFA and the Millennium Development Goals, what structural conditions have African governments implemented, and what lessons are learned and how do they inform the post-2015 agenda for universal primary education in Africa and in other developing countries. This book opens the possibilities for new approaches to EFA in the context of constrained resources, unstable political climates, and the agency of local communities.

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